

TIBETANS, CAMELS, YURTS, AND SINGING TO THE  
SALT GODDESSES: AN A MDO ELDER  
REFLECTS ON LOCAL CULTURE

Wenchangjia (Kawa Namgyal, Kha ba rnam rgyal,  
Minzu University of China)  
and CK Stuart (Shaanxi Normal University)

ABSTRACT

Historical camel herding and use in Mang ra (Guinan) County, Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, China is described through the recollections of Rin chen skyid (1919-2011) and other lifelong residents of the area. Yurts and salt collecting and culture are also described. Three maps and four photographs provide additional information.

KEYWORDS

A mdo, Mang ra (Guinan), Tibetan camel herding, Tibetan yurts

Figure 1. Rin chen skyid with a prayer wheel (photograph by CK Stuart).



Figure 2. Rin chen skyid's family (CK Stuart).



Figure 3 (numbered below) at their home in 2004 (CK Stuart). 1 Bkra shis skyid (b. 1978), 2 Wenchangjia (b. 1980), 3 Dkon mchog tshe brtan (b. 1982), 4 Khyi lo thar (b. 1970), 5 Lcags thar rgyal (b. 1942), 6 Dpal mo skyid (b. 1988), 7 Skal bzang skyid (b. 1985), 8 Tshe log (b. 1990), 9 Chos rgyas rdo rje (b. 1993), 10 Rdo rje skyid (b. 1947), 11 Rin chen skyid (1919-2011), and 12 'Khon thar skyid (b. 2000).



Figure 4. Dpa' chen rgyal (b. 1976) owned the camels pictured below in 2010. On the left is his wife, Tshe thar skyid (b. 1978). On the right is Dpa' chen rgyal's brother's wife, Sang rgyas skyid (b. 1991) (photo by Snying lcags rgyal, Bon skor herding area, Bya mdo (Shagou) Township,<sup>1</sup> 24 February 2010).



## INTRODUCTION<sup>2</sup>

Heller (2006) writes that "The camel is virtually unknown in Tibetan literature...". However, this animal is not totally unknown in Tibetan areas, e.g., Bellezza (2012) describes depictions of camels in Upper Tibetan rock art and Dorjey Angchok et al. (2012) describe the endangered camel population in Ladakh. In addition, in his autobiographical account of life in an A mdo herding community, Snying lcags rgyal (Nangchukja 2011:33-35) describes his childhood experience of riding a camel and falling off.

In 2004, to learn more about the experience of camel use in the Bon skor area, we interviewed Rin chen skyid (1919-2011),

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<sup>1</sup> For locations, see the maps in Appendix 1.

<sup>2</sup> We thank Bsod nams dbang rgyal, Gabriela Samcewicz, Daniel Miller, and AHP editors for providing assistance in writing this paper.



Wenchangjia's maternal grandmother, with whom he lived with from 1985 to 2005. Wenchangjia writes:

Time has passed since her death and I wish that I had spent more time with her and had learned more about her life. The material below is fragmentary, but does feature information about *gur*<sup>3</sup> 'yurts' that local people used in the pre-1958 era, and also about camels that many families used. In writing this, I also chatted with my father (b. 1942), mother (b. 1947), Dpa' rtse 'bum (b. 1969), and Rdo rje 'bum (b. 1980). They are all, with the exception of Rdo rje 'bum,<sup>4</sup> native herders of Bon skor Tibetan Village, Bya mdo Township, Mang ra (Guinan) County, Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province, PR China.

In the first section, Rin chen skyid briefly describes her life, including childhood, marriage, work, and difficult times. This provides a context for the following material that includes camels and yurts.

#### NAMES AND FAMILY MEMBERS<sup>5</sup>

I have two names. The first is Rin chen skyid. My *gces ming* 'nickname' was Pa thas skyid. I was born in Pho rog gad pa 'Raven Gully'<sup>6</sup> (in 1919). My older sister, Glang kho, is eight years older than me (b. 1911).<sup>7</sup> She now lives in a herding area of Bon skor Village.

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<sup>3</sup> Term used by locals.

<sup>4</sup> Rdo je 'bum was born and brought up in a different village.

<sup>5</sup> Rin chen skyid provided the information that appears here until the end of the article, which we supplemented with information from informal conversations with local elders. The final part about salt stations is presented by Wenchangjia.

<sup>6</sup> Pho rog gad pa is located in today's Mda' bzhi (Haiyan) County, Mtsho byang (Haibei) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture.

<sup>7</sup> Glang kho was living in 2014.

The Mda' bzhi Tribe lived in the area where I was born. I have many relatives in Mda' bzhi but I've not seen them for a long time.<sup>8</sup>

My mother died when I was twelve years old.

I met my husband before my father escorted me from Si me cha rim<sup>9</sup> to my husband's home in Mi'u ho.<sup>10</sup> These two places are situated at the foot of different sides of the same mountain in a remote area. People only traveled by horses or donkeys, and there were few paths. It took about five hours to go between these two places at that time.

My husband, 'Bum phyug rgyal, was one year older than me (b. 1918) and died in 1972. Our marriage was not arranged by our families. I brought nothing to his home except the horse that I rode. When I came to my husband's home there were my husband's parents and, of course, my husband, in the family. My mother-in-law, Dbang mo mtsho, was born in about 1895 and died when I was thirty. My father-in-law, La bho, was born in about 1892 and died in 1962.

When I first came to my husband's home, his family owned nineteen goats. His family members wore goatskin and sheepskin robes.

My husband and my husband's father were blacksmiths. They bought metal in Khri ka County Town, brought it home, and made shears for cutting sheep wool. These shears were very sharp and were locally well-known. Many people came to our home to buy the shears.

My own father was forty when my mother died. He did not marry again because he thought to do would have been a sin. This is a difference between older generations and people today. My family moved to Bon po zhing kha,<sup>11</sup> which has now been inundated by a hydroelectric reservoir.

The years of terrible starvation started in 1958. I helped my relatives harvest their crops and I also worked for other people. There were, for example, some Han families near there on the other side of a mountain that faces the Yellow River. We were a herding family and I helped others harvest, partly because I was paid with some of the crops.

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<sup>8</sup> The distance between where she was born and where she lived in Bon skor was about 350 kilometers.

<sup>9</sup> As the result of land division in 2002, this location is now included in Mang chu Town.

<sup>10</sup> In today's Bya mdo Township, Mang ra County.

<sup>11</sup> In today's Bya mdo Township.

Some families in Bon po zhing kha had seven to eight *mu*<sup>12</sup> of farmland. My family didn't farm because we lacked enough people to do the farming. This was an agro-pastoral area. Some families only herded, some only farmed, and some did both.

At least one day of riding fast on a horse was needed to go from here, where I live today, to Bon po zhing kha. If you weren't in a hurry the journey could be done in two days.<sup>13</sup>

I know only a few words of Chinese.

There were times when I dug potatoes for others because it did not involve all that much work and there was no particular time requirement. We could work at our own pace. I also knew the people I was working for. We herders pitied farmers. Their lives were difficult because their diet didn't include meat and dairy products. Not only were we paid in potatoes, but digging potatoes was also enjoyable because we rarely did such work and it was something different to do for a short time.

Later, we lived for only, at most, fifteen days in the farming place in Bon po zhing kha during harvest time. I am unsure about how many *mu* of land we cultivated at that time, but we did not have much land. In the beginning we grew only wheat and barley. We put the grain in bags and, if it rained, we put the bags under straw. After we harvested the crops, we loaded the grain on camels, and returned to our herding place. Camels did not damage the crops because they were kept away.

Later we cultivated barley, wheat, beans, rapeseed, potatoes, and a few vegetables. We used steers, mules, or donkeys to plow the land.

After the reservoir was built, people from Bon po zhing kha moved about thirty kilometers south to Be lan<sup>14</sup> and made it their new farming place. However, harvests in this new place are smaller because the soil isn't as fertile and it is at higher elevation.

Mu ge thang<sup>15</sup> is the name of the place where I live today (2004).

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<sup>12</sup> Fifteen *mu* are equivalent to approximately one hectare.

<sup>13</sup> It is a distance of about seventy kilometers along a zigzag, mountain path.

<sup>14</sup> In today's Bya mdo Township, Mang ra County.

<sup>15</sup> There is disagreement on how to write this name in Tibetan. *Mu ge* means 'starvation' and *thang* means 'plain', thus 'Mu ge thang' means 'Land of Starvation, which is considered an inauspicious name. Some locals therefore prefer to use Smug gi thang 'Foggy Plain'. Elders describe this place as once teeming with flora and fauna and having much fog and rain in summer.

The place where I herded in the late 1970s to early 1980s was toward the end of the Sgro sgang<sup>16</sup> Mountain Range where there are many valleys and rocky mountains. Today, this is in Bya mdo Township. I mostly herded goats there. I was very good at it and had about 500 goats at one time. My family and I were given a *jiang zhuang* (*bya dga'*) 'award' from the local county government. We were very proud of that award.

### CAMELS

When I was a little girl my family had thirty or forty camels. Some families had many more – eighty or ninety – while other families had none at all. Those with none borrowed camels from others. Some families had none because the camels were difficult to care for, especially the calves, which were weaker than other young animals and more prone to get diarrhea.

If a family had around forty camels, then about fifteen were working camels. There was generally one uncastrated camel in a herd.

We didn't kill camels because we thought the camel represented the twelve animals of the zodiac. A story says the camel was given its teeth by the tiger, mouth by the rabbit, neck by the dragon, eyes by the snake, mane by the horse, stomach by the sheep, body hair by the monkey, hind legs by the rooster, alertness by the dog, tail by the pig, ears by the mouse, and hooves by the bull.

Yaks can't live here because it's too hot and yaks' eyes don't function well in hot weather. Because there were no tractors or trucks, we used camels to carry chests, tents, food, and leather bags whenever we moved. We didn't use horses. Camels could carry three to four times as much as horses. We also used camel hair, which we took in late spring, for various purposes. For example, a camel's short body hair is very good for stopping a nosebleed. We called it *sman rtsa chen* 'precious medicine'. We also occasionally used camel hair to make warm winter clothing.

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However, beginning in the 1980s till to the early twenty-first century, most of the land in this area was plowed and used to cultivate rapeseed by resettled outsiders. This led to dust storms, loss in soil fertility, and a decrease in flora and fauna, which explains the term 'Land of Starvation'. Mu ge thang is in Bya mdo Township.

<sup>16</sup> Alternatively, Sgyo sgang.



There are two kinds of camel hair: short hair and longer hair from the mane. The mane hair was used to make rope while the short body hair was sold to Han Chinese merchants. I don't know where they were from. We could sell it most anywhere. One *jin*<sup>17</sup> of camel hair at that time would bring nine or ten *yuan*. Maybe today that doesn't sound like a lot, but money then was not like it is today. Today, even a thousand *yuan* is not a lot of money.

It was difficult to tell camels apart. They are like donkeys – hard to differentiate. We estimated the age of camels by looking at their teeth,<sup>18</sup> and named them according to their age and sex. Male camels had the following names:

<i>a tha</i>	male camel
<i>nga gseb</i>	uncastrated
<i>nga rte'u</i>	one year old calf <sup>19</sup>
<i>nga thor</i>	two year old
<i>nyis langs</i>	castration year or three-year-old
<i>nga rgye'u; phog bzhi</i>	four year old
<i>gcig ga</i>	five year old

Female camels had these names, based on age:

<i>mo nga</i>	female camel
<i>nga rte'u</i>	one year old calf
<i>thor mo</i>	two year old
<i>rgya mo</i>	three year old
<i>bzhi mo</i>	four year old
<i>gcig ga</i>	five year old

Some camels didn't have two humps – they had just one. Camel humps are fatty. If a camel's humps fall in different directions, it is called *so li*. If its humps fall in the same direction, it is called *nog yo*. If the humps stand up – an indication of being fat and strong – there is no specific name. Mother camels usually gave birth every three to five years and less frequently as they became older. If a camel gave birth every year, it was considered unlucky because it was unusual, and the family needed to chant. Because most camels didn't calve every year, it meant that the camel was even more valuable to us.

<sup>17</sup> One *jin* = 0.5 kilograms.

<sup>18</sup> For more on estimating the age of camels by examining their teeth, see <http://www.camelsaust.com.au/liveage.htm> (accessed 25 August 2013).

<sup>19</sup> *Rnga rte'u* was used for both male and female one-year-old calves.

We milked the camels. If the mother camel had a lot of milk then the calf would have the scours. We milked them so the calves wouldn't be sick. To do this we tied their legs with a rope and someone would stand a distance away holding the rope while the camel was milked. We didn't use the milk to make butter but only to make milk tea.

Before 1958, there were trees and bushes around here, and we kept camel calves and the older camels separated so that the mothers wouldn't wander off with their calves. Camels needed to be watered less frequently than other livestock.

Camels are very difficult to manage and camel calves are difficult to care for. You also need a lot of land with forests and bushes because camels eat a great deal. They put several branches in their mouths, strip off the leaves and eat them. These days, however, there are few bushes so it is impossible to take good care of camels.

Camels were usually broken in when they were three to four years old. It was very difficult the first time to tie the camel legs with rope. After the camel was made to lie down, a person would sit on its neck and then make a hole through its nose for a nose peg. Before it could be completely broken in, we put a halter on the camel and patted it. It took at least one month to tame a camel.

If one camel left its herd, the others would bark to the lone camel and it would return. And if a camel was lost, the others would cry and the lost camel would come back.

We used camels to travel to Lha sa. Some people my age went there, and a *bla ma* from this place also went to Lha sa. Camels were ridden and used to carry supplies. When the camels got tired, they had to be rested for some days or they would not work well.<sup>20</sup>

Salt was collected from Wu yi tshwa mtsho.<sup>21</sup> My community had its own small salt station there from which we collected salt. We needed to give salt to the camels.<sup>22</sup> We went

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<sup>20</sup> Potts (2005), citing Gauthier-Pilters and Dagg (1981:6), reports that Bactrians were able to function at altitudes up to 4,000 meters above sea level.

<sup>21</sup> It lies south of today's Chaka Town in Wulan County, Mtsho nub Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. *Wu* 'bubble'; *yi*, as used here, is a conjunction; *tshwa* 'salt'; *mtsho* 'lake'.

<sup>22</sup> According to Lensch (1999), a Bactrian camel needs to ingest sixty to 120 grams of salt daily. Camels with access to saline plants refuse other food. They become emaciated if their diet lacks salt, though large supplies of salt-

there, loaded the salt on the camels, and then took it to Stong skor (Huangyuan) to sell. Older people went on these salt-collecting trips. I never went. They needed to travel for more than ten days to get there.

We also herded horses, but we never milked them.

## YURTS AND A MONGOLIAN CONNECTION

I'm not sure, but many years ago, maybe there was a religious specialist, and he went to a Mongolian leader. That leader had a problem. When his wives gave birth, the children died. This religious specialist solved this problem, and so in gratitude, the leader gave him many people and animals. Those people were probably Mongolian, because the leader and his people were Mongolian.<sup>23</sup>

I heard that people counted in Mongolian when they pitched the yurt and made felt. A long time ago, many people would gather and make yurts. When I was a child, many people came to one family, made a yurt and, after they finished, the family would kill a ewe, divide the meat into pieces, and give it to helpers.

I lived in a yurt. We had yurts until 1958. After that, there was social chaos and we lost the yurts. It took a lot of wood to make a yurt. Poplar wood isn't good for yurts. After 1958, many people came here and cut down all the trees so we couldn't make yurts any more. Also, before 1958 there were many carpenters, but after that there were none.

Yurts are much better than black yak-hair tents. When you are in a yurt and it is windy, you just hear the wind blow. But when you are in a tent, you feel the wind blow.

We used these words to describe the parts of the yurt:

<i>termi</i>	wall sections (The biggest yurt had eight <i>termi</i> .)
<i>harach</i>	skylight
<i>une</i>	roof poles <sup>24</sup>

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free food are available. Salt-deprived camels become weak, their fatty humps shrink to one-third of their original size, and they can no longer transport heavy loads over long distances.

<sup>23</sup> For a longer account of these events, see Nangchukja (2011:5-10).

<sup>24</sup> Juha Janhunen comments:

When we made the yurts, we sang a song that had some Mongolian words, but I've forgotten most of it and I never knew what it meant. It's something like, "*cho na ni ge, cho na ne mo.*" It doesn't make any sense in Tibetan.

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Rdo rje 'bum (b. 1980), the son of Rta kho, originally from Bon skor Village, had been to Wu yi tshwa mtsho and also talked to elders who had been there. He shared his memories:

Many decades ago, many Tibetan tribes in A mdo had their own *tshwa sgo* 'salt station' around Wu yi tshwa mtsho Lake. Religious activities such as burning *bsang* and aspersing lake water into the sky were done to venerate this lake, which was believed to be a lake where 1,000 goddesses lived. Such ritual was thought to delight the goddesses, who would then give more salt.

Each time water wells were ready for the salt to be extracted, bubbles appeared on the surface. The lake was then praised to also please the goddesses. The praise was an offering to the deities. However, today machines collect the salt.

The beginning lines of the praise verse are:

ལུ་ཡི་ཚྭ་མཚོ་དཀར་མོ།  
ལྷ་མོ་སྤང་གི་བླ་མཚོ།

*wu yi tshwa mtsho dkar mo*  
*lha mo stong gi bla mtsho*

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*harach* - skylight = /xarac/ < xaraac < *xaraaci* 'smoke hole in tent'; *une* - roof poles = /ün/ ~ /uny/ < *uni* 'roof pole'; *termi* - wall sections = /term/ < terem ~ *terme* 'wall section' < 'wall'. Moreover, these are specifically Western Mongolian/ Oirat words. Only *uni* 'roof pole' is widely used in other Mongolian dialects, while the other two concepts are expressed by the words *xan* < *xana* 'wall section' and *toon* < *toono* 'smoke hole'. The words used by Rin chen skyid are, however, well documented in, for example, the Oirat (Kalmuck) dictionary of GJ Ramstedt. As the Mongols of Qinghai are all originally Oirat, it is understandable that they use Oirat words.



the soul lake of one thousand goddesses  
it is the white salt lake of Wu<sup>25</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Snying lcags rgyal describes the present situation of camels in Byamdo Township:<sup>26</sup>

In 2010, there were about five camels across Bon skor herding areas. In 2014, there were only three female camels. The male camels had died. The camels were used to fetch water from the Yellow River, about three to five kilometers away, and to haul bags of flour, daily-use items, and belongings when moving between winter and summer pastures.

What was the historical use of camels in Tibetan areas and what factors determined that use? Detailed studies of Tibetan communities that owned camels, including in-depth interviews with elders who remember the details of camel management, would be valuable to better understand variation in Tibetan communities across the Plateau. The advanced age of elders who remember the details of camel management and use emphasizes the urgency of such studies as a long era of camel ownership and use among at least some Tibetan communities comes to an end.

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<sup>25</sup> Ulrike Koch's film *The Saltmen of Tibet* features a song for scraping the salt and another one for sewing the sacks closed before they are loaded onto yaks (Turran 1998).

<sup>26</sup> Personal communication (email), 17 January 2014.

APPENDIX: MAPS

Map 1. Mtsho sngon (Qinghai) Province<sup>27</sup>



- 1 Mtsho nub (Haixi) Mongolian and Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
- 2 Mtsho byang (Haibei) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
- 3 Zi ling (Xining) City (provincial level city)
- 4 Haidong City (provincial level city)
- 5 Mtsho lho (Hainan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
- 6 Rma lho (Huangnan) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
- 7 Yul shul (Yushu) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
- 8 Mgo log (Guoluo) Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture

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<sup>27</sup> This and other maps are altered versions of Maggern (2014), a public domain resource.

Map 2. Mtsho lho Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture



- 1 Gser chen (Gonghe) County
- 2 'Ba' rdzong (Tongde) County
- 3 Khri ka (Guide) County
- 4 Brag dkar (Xinghai) County
- 5 Mang ra (Guinan) County

Map 3. Mang ra County<sup>28</sup>



- [A] Thar shul (Taxiu) Township
- [B] Sum mdo (Sengduo) Township
- [C] Bya mdo (Shagou) Township
- [D] Mang ra (Mangla) Township
- [E] Mang chu (Mangqun) Town
- [F] Mgo mang (Guomaying) Town

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<sup>28</sup> Locations are approximate.



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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

'Ba' rdzong འབའ་རྫོང་། (Tongde xian 同德县)

'Bum phyug rgyal འབུམ་ཕྱུག་རྒྱལ་།

'Khon thar skyid འཁོན་ཐར་སྐྱིད་།

A

A mdo ཨ་མདོ།

*a tha* ཨ་ཐ།

B

Be lan བེ་ལན།

Bkra shis skyid བཀ་ཤིས་སྐྱིད་།

*bla ma* བླ་མ།

Bon po zhing kha བོན་པོ་ཞིང་ཁ།

Bon skor Village བོན་སྐོར་སྡེ་བ།

Brag dkar བྲག་དག་ར། (Xinghai 兴海)

*bsang* བསང་།

Bsod nams dbang rgyal བསོད་ནམས་དབང་རྒྱལ་།

Bya mdo བྱ་མདོ། (Shagou 沙沟)

Bzhi mo བཞི་མོ།

C

Chaka ཇ་ཀ་ Town (Tshwa kha ཇུ་ཁ།)

Chos rgyas rdo rje ཇོས་རྒྱས་ར་ར་རྟེ་རྒྱེ།

*co na ne mo* ཙོ་ན་ནེ་མོ།

*co na ni ge* ཙོ་ན་ནེ་གེ།

D

Dkon mchog tshe brtan དཀོན་མཆོག་ཚེ་བདུན།  
Dpal mo skyid དཔལ་མོ་སྒྱེད།  
Dbang mo mtsho དབང་མོ་མཆོ།  
Dpa' rtse 'bum དཔའ་རྩེ་འབུམ།

G

*gces ming* གཅེས་མིང།  
*gcig ga* གཅིག་ག།  
Glang kho གླང་ཁོ།  
Gser chen གསེར་ཆེན། (Gonghe 共和)  
*gur* གུར།

H

*harach, xarac, xaraac, xaraaci*

J

*jiang zhuang* 奖状 (*bya dga'* བྱ་དགའ།)  
*jin* 斤

K

Kawa Namgyal, Kha ba rnam rgyal ཁ་བ་ནམ་གྲུལ།  
Khri ka ཁྲི་ཀ། (Guide 贵德)  
Khyi lo thar ཁྲི་ལོ་ཐར།

L

La bho ལ་བོ།  
Lcags thar rgyal ལྷགས་ཐར་རྒྱལ།  
*lha mo stong gi bla mtsho* ལྷ་མོ་སྟོང་གི་བླ་མཆོ།  
Lha sa ལྷ་ས། City

M

Mang chu མང་ཆུ། (Mangqu 茫曲)  
Mang ra མང་ར། (Mangla 茫拉, Guinan 贵南)  
Mda' bzhi མདའ་བཞི། (Haiyan 海晏)

Mda' tshan tsho ba bzhi མདའ་ཚན་ཚོ་བ་བཞི།

Mgo mang མགོ་མང་། (Guomaying 过马营)

Mi'u ho མི་ལུ་ཧོ།

Minzu University of China (Zhongyang minzu daxue 中央民族大学)

mo rnga མོ་རྒྱ།

Mtsho byang མཚོ་བྱང་། (Haibei 海北)

Mtsho lho མཚོ་ལྷོ།

Mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྒྲོན། (Qinghai 青海)

mu མུ།

Mu ge thang མུ་གེ་ཐང་།

N

nog yo ལོག་ཡོ།

nyis langs ཉིས་ལང་།

P

Pa thas skyid པ་ཐས་སྐྱིད།

Pho rog gad pa ཕོ་རོག་གད་པ།

phog bzhi ཕོག་བཞི།

R

Rab 'og རབ་འོག་

Rdo rje skyid རོ་རྩེ་སྐྱིད།

Rin chen skyid རིན་ཆེན་སྐྱིད།

rgya mo རྒྱ་མོ།

rnga gseb རྒྱ་གསེབ།

rnga rgye'u རྒྱ་རྒྱེ་ལུ།

rnga rte'u རྒྱ་རྟེ་ལུ།

rnga thor རྒྱ་ཐོར།

Rta kho རྟ་ཁོ།

S

Sgro sgang སྒོ་སྐང་།

Sgyo sgang སྐྱོ་སྐང་།

Shaanxi Normal University (Shaanxi shifan daxue 陕西师范大学)

Si me cha rim སི་མེ་ཇ་རིམ་།

skad khang chad chad སྐལ་ཁང་ཇ་ཇ་།

sman rtsa chen སྐུ་རྩ་ཆེན་།

Smug gi thang སྐུག་གི་ཐང་།

so li སོ་ལི་།

Stong 'khor སྟོང་འཁོར་། (Huangyuan 湟源)

Sum mdo སུམ་མདོ་། (Sengduo 森多)

T

*termi, terem, terme*

Thar shul ཐར་ཤུལ་། (Taxiu 塔秀)

thor mo ཐོར་མོ་།

Tshal rnga 'gag ཐཤ་རྒྱ་ཀ་ག་། (Longyangxia 龙羊峡)

Tshe log ཐཤེ་ལོག་།

tshwa sgo ཐཤའ་སྒོ་།

U

*une, ün, uny, uni*

W

Wenchangjia 文昌加, Bun khrang rgyal བུན་ཁྲང་རྒྱལ་།

Wu yi tshwa mtsho ལུ་ཡི་ཐཤའ་མཚོ་།

Wu yi tshwa mtsho dkar mo ལུ་ཡི་ཐཤའ་མཚོ་དཀར་མོ་།

Wulan 乌兰 County

Y

*yuan 元*